1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

stoppage of emigration, and public health measures. While the following statistics are worthless from a demographic point of view, they may nevertheless indicate the village trends. 161

Matsuda Village, 1951 163 165

	Births	Deaths
Total	46	11
Male	26	5
Female	20	6

In Oushichan township, where individual village totals were not available, the statistics show a similar trend:

Oushichan Township, 1951

	Births	Deaths
Total	263	52
Male	140	26
Female	123	26

3

What Happened with Repatriation

In the peace time emigration before the war, the intention to return was almost universal. Typically a first son, as the future responsible person for his parents, emigrated as a young man, before marriage, with the intention of accumulating savings and supporting his parents during his absence, later returning to marry if he had not acquired a wife abroad. People in the villages now say that the desire to return has declined sharply with the economic hardships and the threat of renewed warfare, and that Okinawans in foreign countries will probably remain there for the rest of their lives. Okinawans living abroad, according to family registers in the villages, are now mostly in Peru, Brazil, Argentina, and Hawaii. 167 [593] [454] [582]

The effects of repatriation on the township level can be seen from the following statistics for Oushichan township. Comparable statistics were not available in Ginoza-son. 161 728

Pre-war population, 1940	6445
Deaths resulting from the war	1700
Repatriates	1030
Population, December 31, 1951	6267

Despite the fact that deaths resulting from the war must have been between 20% and 25% of the total population of the township, repatriates [727]

of contemporary relationships. The family system does not mean only family life, or a set of obligations, or a family. It is all of these, and, in addition, a historical continuity. It is an institution in which the past is constantly intruding on the present and in which the present is a combination of acts to secure one's own livelihood and well-being as well as to perpetuate the family in the future. A simple illustration will make this clear. One of the obligations of living members of a family is to observe the death anniversaries of close relatives. The last, the most important, and the most sumptuous of these observances occurs on the 33d year after the death of the relative who is mourned. Thus a grandson, most likely the first son of a first son, may end this period of memorial observances for a grandfather whom he may never have seen. There is a constant intrusion of obligations coming fr the past. These, often onerous and expensive, are honored in a positive manner.

In the present, conscious plans are made for the continuance of the family. These are achieved through three closely inter-related devices: the succession of the first son to his father's house and, on his marriage, taking up residence at the father's home, the system of inheritance which favors the first son, and the establishment of branch households for other sons, awarding them, if the family's wealth permits, a house site and fie for cultivation.

In this way, the continuance of the main line and collateral branches of the family is provided for. If we pursue the illustration of inheritance a little further, we can think of the division of the land as an expression of the family system applied to the use and to the sharing of the available natural resources. The system of agriculture, the scattered ownership of small holdings, the attempts at land conservation and reclamation are best understood as reflections of duties and obligations to the present and future generations in the family system. If they are not seen in this way, they may appear to be isolated practices best discussed as techniques or as aspects of law and custom.

Not only in family observances but in public holidays as well, the subtle influences of the family system can be observed. Public holidays and festivals are centered on two main themes, sometimes both together: thanksgiving for good crops and reverence for those who have passed away. The holiday of O-Bon in the seventh lunar month, in which the departed dead are invited to return for a visit to the homes of their living descendants and the celebrations at lunar New Year are good examples of this.

In village life, the family system is strengthened by the high incidence of intermarriage among local kinship groups. A general lack of mobility in the villages studied has also led to the increase of immediate relatives living in the same village. This leads to community, and even to local government some of the characteristics of a wider family life. The establishment of branch families in the village of their paren

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Mother of head, age 48
Grandfather of head, age 65
Younger brother, age 25
Younger brother, age 16
Younger sister, age 9
Younger sister, age 11
Younger brother's wife, age 25
Two nieces, ages 4 and 2, daughters of the eldest younger brother and his wife.

These examples, of which many more could be given, illustrate several points regarding the family system. It is not uncommon to have as many as four generations in a family unit, the present head, his parent, the children, and the grandchildren of the head. There are four generations in illustration #3. The combination of a first son and his wife, with his parents, his younger brothers and sisters, and the head's own children, a common composition, illustrates the responsibilities of the first son both to his parents and to his siblings. Responsibility for illegitimate children is with the family of the girl. Occasionally a husband will accept an illegitimate child born to his wife either before or during the marriage, but it is more usual for the illegitimate child to be reared in the household from which the mother came. In the second illustration, one illegitimate daughter lives with her grandparents and the mother is not in the household. The third illustration shows an unusual situation in which the young head and his wife have their children, his mother, his grandfather, minor younger sisters and brothers, and, in addition, a married younger brother and his wife and their two children. Ordinarily these would have established a branch family and not have been part of the older brother's household. [848]

At present, the commonest family compositions are (1) the biological family, (2) the family with a young eldest son as the head with the widowed mother and other minor brothers and sisters, a type of composition which has increased as a result of the war, (3) uncles, aunts, cousins, and occasionally unrelated persons may live in the house, (4) often grandparents are found with their grandchildren, (5) widows with minor children are also common, an incidence increased by war.

The percentage of widows in Minatogawa, in addition to the casualties of war, is due to the loss of fishermen at sea, a not uncommon tragedy as the typhoon season coincides with the best fishing seasons. Since widows with children seldom remarry, the family composition remains the same until the first son assumes the leadership of the family and the mother resides with him. [162] [165] [581]

Each of the families making up the extended family is either a main or a branch family. This arrangement is repeated in the individual families as well. If we take as an example a family with both parents, a first son, a second son, and a first daughter, we may expect as a normal development that the eldest son will marry between 24 and 27 and live with his wife at the home of his parents, that the father will 596 [582] [591]

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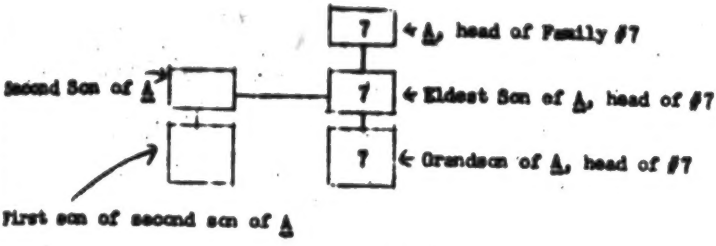
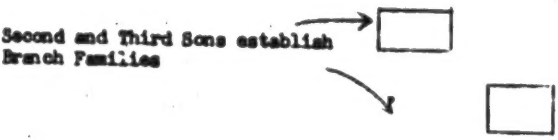
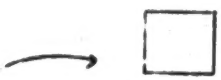




Daughters marry and go to Husband's Father's House or to Branch Families established by their husbands.  [597]

The family system, through the succession of the first son to his father's house, prevents the extinction of the main family line, and at the same time creates branch families with close ties with the parent family. [611]

Lacking a son, adoption (to be discussed below) is available to provide against extinction of any family, but in Okinawan villages it has seldom been necessary to use it. [597]

The emphasis in the family system is on providing for the eldest son who succeeds to the father's estate. The sons other than the first must be prepared to accept little or nothing, in the case of the very poor, when they marry and separate themselves from the parental house. [428]

In these Okinawan villages, the second and succeeding sons (or younger brothers if the head of the house is the eldest brother) remain in the family until marriage, usually around 25. They do not live in separate houses, but may have separate rooms, or a small shack in the compound for sleeping purposes. Unless they live in another town or work 593 [582] [513]

593 in a military installation which keeps them away from their homes, they remain there, helping in the fields, or go out on the fishing boats, as [582] the case may be. If a son other than the first remains in the family after the age of marriage, it is generally for some physical or mental disability. Under the normal operation of the family system, there is 591 no time in a person's life in which he is not part of some family unit and living in the same house with his parents, an elder brother, or with a wife and his children, or with his grandchildren.

727 The war enforced many exceptions to this normal life cycle, as the 593 discussion of the previous table brought out: conscription and military service, deaths in battle or as a consequence of the campaign, widowhood and the orphaning of children. In the villages studied, the post-war situation was not disrupting family life further by the movement of younger unattached men to Naha or the larger towns, or by their separation from daily life while doing work for military camps. At least it was not sufficiently frequent to result in a deterioration of normal family life. In these villages branch families were established for the most part 591 in the village of the parent family. There are two reasons for this: first, the desire to remain near the parents and siblings, and second, [423] that the property which the father, or elder brother, has at his disposal is normally real property and land holdings in the village. Cash, which an [435] agricultural or fishing family might have at its disposal, would usually be insufficient at present prices for a second or succeeding son to be given money to purchase land and a house site elsewhere. Occasionally a [425] father sells land in the village to provide his son with money to purchase a house site and fields elsewhere, but this is not usual.

The mechanics of establishing a branch household may be illustrated from practices observed in each of the villages, though the procedure is essentially the same.

Hanashiro is a settlement in the center of a cultivated area of dry [361] field farming and rice paddies. The cultivated area begins on the outer rim of the village. The father, or the elder brother, gives a field (hatake in Japanese) to the son, or younger brother, if it is suitable for a house site. If the land owned is too far away--there are no [425] isolated homesteads--an effort is made to exchange with a neighbor, friend or relative, the far off property for a parcel closer in. If this is not possible, the remote piece is sold and the proceeds used to purchase a suitable plot in the residential area. If the family is too poor to [426] give money or land, an attempt may be made to borrow the money for purchase. If none of these arrangements is possible, the son may simply start out on his own, or less commonly, may live with his wife in the home of his parents, or delay his marriage. But it is uncommon for a second or succeeding son and his wife and children to live in the house of the parents or of the elder brother.

311 In this way, the residential area gradually replaces the cultivated 591 areas which surround it. One consequence of the establishment of branch families in agricultural villages is that it gradually decreases the

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In Japan, as well as in Okinawa, the system has been maintained without the ultra-conservative duties and regulations and the severe subordination of women associated with Confucianism in its political and social aspects. This is true at least for late nineteenth and-twentieth century Okinawa, though some Confucian survivals no doubt persist.

But the family system is also an admirably flexible institution. It need not depend for its survival on a Confucian ethic, the subordination of women, or on the arranged marriage. It does require a [769] continuing reverence for the dead and care to insure the existence of generations to come. There is room for free choice in marriage within [582] the general framework of the family system. There is in the family system a sense of belonging from early infancy to death, a sense of identity with the past as well as sharing in the future, an emotional security, free participation of the old in village life, mutual reinforcements coming from the performances of these obligations. These are striking characteristics of Okinawan village life. It is true that the family system in Japan has been unable to avoid many deep lying insecurities and conflicts. But in Japan there have been in recent times strong competitive situations along with the harnessing of the nation's energies to war. In Okinawa, these conditions have been lacking, at least in an intense form, until the Okinawans were in the midst of the fierce fighting of the war. The sense of security and of belonging is unmistakable in the great majority of villagers, and while this does not mean there is no dissension or that everything [156] is serene, it does mean that the system as it has developed here has permitted a certain personal flexibility and freedom within the system. The culture also has not encouraged strong individual competition.

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The family system, with its obligations and duties, both in the individual and the extended families, is the key to an understanding, not only of the non-material, but much of the material culture as well. The social organization as it has developed within the family system has strong influences through inheritance on land tenure and land use, and on agriculture and other occupations, in addition to its influences on daily family living, religious observances, public recreation and holidays. These will be explored in the chapters to come.

584 place, as it requires the participation of the principals and their families. Young country people are likely to hesitate before going against their parents' wishes, dispensing with a ceremony and the celebration which follows, and eloping to Naha or to some larger town.

In practice, events seldom reach this stage of differences in opinion. Some one will give way. An actual happening illustrates this point. A young man, a third son, about 20 years old, fell in love with a girl, aged 23, a bus driver's assistant. The boy wished to marry her, even though by present day standards he was young for marriage.[1] His parents objected to the match, not because of antipathy to the girl whom they liked, but because she was three years older than the boy. This is an interesting objection because formerly many wives were older than their husbands, although too great an age differential was considered a trifle ludicrous. Apparently in the older arranged marriage, parents intentionally selected a bride older than the husband. In the family registers, among the very old, the wife is often older than the husband. At present the girl is either younger or about the same age.

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[848] The boy acceded to his parents' wishes and did not marry the girl but kept on seeing her. Later the girl became pregnant. His parents discussed the matter among members of the extended family resident in the village, and, in much distress, consented to the marriage. Once the marriage was decided upon, there was no objection to the two living together.

836 [583] Some premarital living together is found in Okinawa. The boy works on his own parents' fields and helps the girl's parents. The girl reciprocates by helping at the boy's parents' home. During this time, the boy lives at home but spends the night with the girl at her home.

582 [117] Young men normally do not get married until their 24th or 25th year, though there are cases of earlier marriages. Girls are in their early twenties. Earlier marriages may be an indication that a child is on the way. This relatively late age for marriage is not old in the culture. In older times, young people were married in their 13th and 14th year. This practice gradually changed under Japanese rule.[2]

1 The Japanese word for love is ai-suru, but now one frequently hears the Japanese word rabu borrowed from the English love.

2 Writing in 1910 from personal observation, Simon said that with the "Japanisation" of the islands and the increased difficulty and expense in making a living, the time for marriage was postponed and that a marriage at 15 years was now an exception. Beitrage zur Kenntnis der Riukiu-Inseln, 88 and 90. Schwartz, In Togo's country, 1908, writing of conditions around the turn of the century, says that marriages are contracted between the 14th and 17th year, p. 150.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

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Husband and wife usually are from the same village, but there are many exceptions. Marriages of persons from different villages have increased in the past decade. This probably should be ascribed to the greater mobility of the people and to the acceptance of free choice in marriage. It is common, for example, for a Hatsuda boy to marry a Ginoza village girl. It is also common for a boy in Minatogawa to marry a girl from the nearby agricultural villages of Hanashiro, Asato, or Gushichan. This apparently is a distinct change from earlier practices.

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If the family registers are accurate, the great majority of the men living in a village were born there; it is the wives who are more likely to be the newcomers. In the social structure of village life, it is the men who provide the continuity; the women are more likely to be strangers. The husband may point to his father and grandfather who live or have lived in the village; fewer wives can do the same.

2

The Marriage Ceremony

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In my experience, no two marriage ceremonies in Okinawa are alike. Marriages take place at any time of the year, but in all three villages, they were more commonly held in the late fall or in winter. The reasons given are that the heavy clothing and elaborate headdress of the bride are not suited to the hot and humid summer and that these can be more comfortably worn in the cool winter months. The marriage feast with its fish cakes, meats, vegetables, and a variety of other perishable foods can be more easily prepared and kept in winter. In the agricultural villages, the ceremony usually takes place after the day's work; in the winter the reception may start by 5 and the main ceremonies are over by 8 in the evening.

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Description of a ceremony at Hatsuda. The party began about 5 in the afternoon. Because of the large number of guests, the primary school was used for the ceremony. At the head of the first room, the grandfather and grandmother of the groom, the groom, his father, and the go-between were seated. Other relatives of the groom found places around the sides. Later the father of the bride, who arrived shortly before his daughter, joined this group. The go-between, a young man of 24, was a friend of the couple, and his wife was a member of the groom's family.

In the other rooms, opening into one another, about 300 guests, mostly men, were assembled. During the reception and before the beginning of the ceremony, guests representing their families entered the first room to congratulate the father, the groom, and the grandparents. In this period of congratulation involving the father, the groom, and the guest, there was an exchange of sips of sake from a common cup. As in other instances of congratulation, some speeches were long, some short, some well prepared, others extemporaneous.

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585 the day of the wedding ceremony, preparations are made at the
184 bride's home. Food is served for relatives and friends, and the party then proceeds to the groom's home for the ceremony.

[431] Gifts from the groom's family depend upon economic circumstances, but usually range from Y50 to Y100 up to Y1000. In Hanashiro, something, no matter how small, is always given by the groom's family to the bride's family. Since the war, gifts of chests of drawers and blankets are less common because of high prices.

On the third day, in this Hanashiro custom, the bride and the groom with relatives and friends visit the bride's parents during the day. On the same evening, the visit is returned by the bride's family.

585 There is a general agreement in all the villages that as a con-
178 sequence of the war, the preliminaries to marriage, the ceremony, the
727 gifts, and the events following the ceremony have become simpler.
435 Part of this is due to the high cost of food and entertainment. In the competition with other ceremonies and celebrations, the tendency has been, in the interest of economy, to simplify the old customs, or when this is not possible, to combine celebrations coming close together in the year. One frequently hears the word keisai (economy) used in this connection.

3

Contemporary Attitudes Toward Marriage

58 Marriage customs today are different from those of even 20 years
178 ago. From information collected from the villages, the chief changes in marriage customs have been: (1) the preliminaries and the ceremony have been simplified, (2) marriages take place at a much older age, (3) marriages between individuals of different villages are more common, (4) there is a shorter engagement period and its significance has declined, (5) the custom in which the bride temporarily returns to her home has disappeared or become rare, (6) the go-between, formerly a respected elder negotiating a marriage, is now a friend, generally the same age as the principals, offering help and advice, and (7) the arranged marriage has given way to freer choice in marriage in which the parents' consent has become largely a formality.

581 Judging by the statements of residents of all villages, many of
582 whom were married under the old arrangement, there is almost universal approval of free choice in marriage. Divorces were said to have been [586] common under the old system, mainly because of the wife's barrenness or unattractiveness. The chances that the marriage will be a happy one are [562] thought to be greater under the new. Among women, it harmonizes with [177] ideas of equality which they have heard of or read about in Japanese magazines since the occupation.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Free choice in marriage does not mean that the family system will disintegrate because parents have lost control in selecting mates for their children. The family system is much more likely to break down if the head of a house must assume greater responsibility for the support of relatives, or if the young leave their homes and are scattered in the towns. 582 602

Trial marriage is said to be uncommon in Okinawa, but there does not seem to be any disapproval when it appears. Perhaps trial marriage is an inappropriate word, and living together prior to an intended marriage is a better term. In one case, a young man lived with his intended wife; sometimes he brought her to his parents' home. As his duties required some travelling, the girl often went with him. In Hanashiro, this custom is not practiced. When young people live together before marriage, with the parents' consent, they help one another's families with the daily chores. 583

Some married men have relations with other women, usually widows or unmarried girls, and have children by them. This is not rare, but it is by no means considered correct behavior. In one village, the first son with his wife and children live, as is customary, with his parents, but he continues to have relations with two unmarried women by whom he has had children. All three women live in the same village, know the situation, and manage to avoid one another fairly well. Naturally the wife is much disturbed by the arrangement. The man, now about 33, has 11 children by the three women. The children of the second and third women are classified in the family registers in the mother's family as illegitimate (shiseiji). This is an extreme case. 837 [848]

In another community, there was an instance of the effects of war and repatriation on a marriage. Before the war this man and his wife had emigrated to Saipan. She was afraid of the bombing and decided to return to her parents' home in rural Japan, to which her husband consented. He remained in Saipan and later lived with and married the girl who was his personal servant. They returned to Okinawa; he had a child by her and is now living with her. The new family register, made up after the war, does not show the old marriage. His first wife, whom he still admires, has written him, but he has not replied. While he expressed no regrets about the loss of the first wife, he talked about the second as if she were still a servant.

In the villages, the cases of a married man living with another woman, without any formal estrangement from the real wife, are in my opinion not uncommon--with the exception of Hanashiro. As one lives in a village and gradually hears confidences, departures from strict fidelity seem more frequent than appear on the surface. There is general agreement too that illegitimacy has increased since the 848

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

bers may be recruited and present members expelled. In others, which are closed, membership is automatic and inevitable, depending in no way on the behavior of the individuals involved. We are here concerned with these latter groups whose membership is determined by sex, age, kinship, and rules of residence. Whether an American male lives in Connecticut or California, in the city or the suburbs, is to a large degree a matter of his personal preference. This is not the case for everybody in Taira, although there are people who at any time may leave the village to seek their fortune.

There are two types of households in Taira: those of oldest sons, who live in the house of their parents, and those of younger sons, who establish a nuclear household of their own, which may be near the house of their father. Many young sons, however, leave the central village and settle in its outlying districts or move to the southern part of the island. Whereas formerly many younger sons moved to Japan or to one of its prewar South Pacific mandates, or to Hawaii and South America, since the end of World War II employment opportunities around U.S. Army installations absorb many such migrants. The oldest son is required to live in his parents' house and eventually take over the duties of a household head. Unmarried younger sons remain in the household until they marry or leave the parental home for work elsewhere.

For a woman it is customary to move to her husband's home if he is an older son or into a house in his village if he is a younger son. In the old days this usually involved simply a move in the village, since the preference was to marry a woman from the same community. Nowadays there is no clear-cut preference; a woman from central Taira may become the bride of a man from that part of the village, from one of the outlying parts of Taira, or from another village, usually to the north. Of a sample of 55 marriages, 26 of the wives were from Taira, 29 from other villages, five of which were immediately adjacent.

The composition of the household, therefore, changes for the individual during his lifetime, and it is not the same for all persons in the village. Several children not only have their parents and at least one paternal grandparent but also paternal aunts or uncles who live under the same roof. If the father is a younger son, only one's parents and siblings are household members. Since houses are small and space is very limited, all these members of the household live in close face-to-face relationship. Women tend to outlive men, so that there are many more old women living with their married sons than old men. This is why children have a grandmother more often in the home than a grandfather (see Table 1).

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

the decades, as the branches grow into unilineal descent lines of their own, new "main" houses are formed. 613

Originally descriptive names were given to each household. These names indicated a "stem" family or one of its branches. The "Big East House," a reference to the lineage as well as to the homestead itself, probably split into several branches. These, the homes of younger sons, were known as "Little East House," or by a further derivative, "Behind Little East House." Sometimes the rank order of a younger son was used to name his house, such as "Second East House." This house order system is no longer in existence in Taira, but a few of the names are still in use to indicate houses, and individuals are frequently referred to as "the person of such and such a house," for instance, "the grandmother of the East House." •

Although every individual is aware of his membership in a "main house," these descent groups have little importance except in religious life and death ceremonies. Members of the same "main house" revere common male ancestors and share in the upkeep of a common tomb in which their remains are placed at death. Funerals and the veneration of deceased members of the "main house" bring the kin group together several times a year. Women, although entombed with their husbands, visit the "main house" of their father to pray before his ancestors' tablets and make offerings. If they were born in Taira, they may first take offerings of rice and sake to the shrine of their husband's paternal ancestors; then later in the day they prepare for a ceremony in their own "main house." 613 769

The descent group also functions in other religious contexts. The oldest woman of the main house acts as priestess for the lineage, and she or another older female may visit the sick and assist their relatives with prayers and practical help. Descent group affiliation does not affect such daily concerns as lending help to others in economic tasks, though some of the descendants of early Taira settlers seem to feel more obligation in this respect than members of the more recently arrived lineages. Lineage affiliation does not determine the choice of a marriage partner. However, although members of the same "main house" or lineage may marry each other provided they are not first cousins, such unions are rare. Marriage with maternal first cousins is also forbidden. 613 [794] [476] [582]

An individual also holds membership in other kin groups which have only a loose structure and few functions. These are the relatives 602 [476]

• Individual surnames among commoners are of recent date, introduced after the Japanese assumed administrative control and required their adoption to establish a population registry. Family names had been in use among the Shuri gentry. 551 177 217

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
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601 term. As the child gets older, the familiar suffixless form of address is used less and less frequently, though girls seem to retain it longer than boys.

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576 The strength of one's ties to the community as a whole regardless of actual kinship is seen not only in the use of the term "grandmother" and "grandfather" in addressing all members of this generation but also in the similar use of the terms "uncle" and "aunt" for all members of the parental generation. Those who are not known well or who have high status are addressed by the appropriate kinship term with the suffix -san added.*

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576 Achieved status is recognized by special terms of address. The teacher, school principal, the doctor, the village headman or mayor are addressed by their titles. Taira people combine familiarity with formality by calling a young teacher from the same or neighboring community by the first name, then adding the title "teacher." †

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571 In summary, although affiliation with a patrilineal descent group and kinship ties with kindred influence certain aspects of life, over and above these ties is the identification with the community, which is drawn together by bonds of economic and social interdependence. Individual leaders serve their term of responsibility and then return to the egalitarian community life, which is comparatively free of competitive strife.

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Chapter 7

Courtship, Marriage, and Sex

● 582 Most marriages in Taira take place when both men and women are in their early or middle twenties (see Table 2). It is perhaps most note-

* This refers to the use of Japanese kinship terms which are prevalent in Taira—see Chapter 1, p. 370.

† The use of first names may also help to identify individuals since many persons have the same surname—this explanation, however, is not in contradiction with the statement concerning familiarity.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

worthy that so few women marry before they are twenty and that many marry in their middle and later twenties. For those whose formal education ends at the age of 15 there may, therefore, be an interval of five to ten years until matrimony.*

One might ask whether sibling position affects marriage age, either because first-born must marry first or because of the inheritance pattern, young sons seldom inheriting either a house or land. The record of 59 marriages in central Taira shows no clear pattern in this respect; oldest sons and daughters do not seem to marry earlier more frequently than those in lower ordinal positions. A more plausible explanation for late marriage is that young men tend to spend some time after school outside the community and, prior to the war, even outside the country. The rationale for a period abroad is in part economic, but "wanderlust" or curiosity undoubtedly contribute. Furthermore, there is no doubt that the period between the end of school and marriage is an extremely enjoyable one, for now work and duties are mixed with comradeship and amusements in contrast to the new duties and responsibilities one assumes with marriage and children. This is especially true for women.

The most striking fact concerning Taira marriages is that among the total of 59 unions, 18 wives were older than their husbands. Marriage records from the other parts of Taira reveal the same age discrepancy. In comparison with Western countries, and what we know of most other societies, this discrepancy is unusual. Similar findings were suggested from studies in Japan. Here, however, the explanation seems to be that such marriages tend to occur between a first son and a woman who is older than he because a mature woman is desired to take over responsibilities as an oldest son's wife. In Taira only nine (one half) of the age reversals involve marriages of oldest sons. Since there are 29 first-born males included in the sample of 59, the proportion of age reversal marriages of oldest sons is no greater

* There were no dependable data to indicate whether the present trend toward a relatively late marriage represents a change from a previous pattern. Informants' statements suggest that marriages took place at an earlier age in past times, perhaps prior to the turn of the century. Other references to marriage in Okinawa would support this information. The *Civil Affairs Handbook, Ryukyu Islands*, Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, 1944, states that: "The usual age of marriage as reported in 1925 was 18 or 19 for men, 17 or 18 for women. An analysis of the marriage statistics for 1934, however, indicates that the average age at marriage was about four years older. In 1937, the average was reported as 27 years for men and 24 for women" (page 64). The rapid increase in age between 1925 and 1937 suggested by this source can only be accepted with reservations.

582 [593] than one would expect, and we may conclude that the oldest son explanation does not hold for Taira.*

Table 2 Marriage Statistics for Central Taira

1. Age of men and women at first marriage
Total cases: 59
For the period: 1904–1953

AGE OF MARRIAGE	MEN	WOMEN
16	—	2
17	—	2
18	2	4
19	4	4
20	5	11
21	4	8
22	10	5
23	9	8
24	7	8
25	2	4
26	2	1
27	3	2
28	4	2
29	1	3
30	2	—
31	1	—
32	—	—
33	—	1
34	—	1
35	1	—
36	—	—
37	1	—
38	1	—
39	—	—
40	1	—
Not listed	5	8

584 178 In the old days, apparently, there were many gay and unrestrained courtships of men and women on the beach after dark. During our fieldwork we did not observe open courtship. The expression of affec-

* Unfortunately, we did not recognize the large number of these cases while in the field; hence we failed to ask informants for their explanations and rationalizations. The age reversal[1] tends to underscore the relatively high status of women vis-à-vis men and may be instrumental in perpetuating it.

[562]

1 [i.e. where wives are older than their husbands - ANALYST]

cash income, earned by several adult members in joint work, or equal to about one half of a teacher's monthly salary. The girl brings a dowry consisting of furniture, household utensils, and other things, so, as one person said, the groom is repaid in one form or another. In former times the men had to pay a fine to the parents of the bride if she married out of the village (Suttles, personal communication; Tamura, 1927 translation:44).

Even under present conditions the wedding ceremony is colorful compared to most other private ceremonies. All guests attend in their best clothes and the bride wears a special kimono and a special wig hair dress. She is seated next to the groom, who wears Western-style clothes instead of the traditional silk kimono. The whole ceremony is presided over by the go-betweens. While preliminaries take place, the bride sits almost motionless. Her face expresses what Glacken describes as "undescribable gloom" (1955:218). This continues even through the climax of the event, the ceremonial exchange of wine which symbolizes the union of the participants. During this part of the ceremony the guests, who have been enjoying food and sake and talking amicably, give this moment a solemn meaning by their silence. Speeches by the go-between and other notables follow. The virtue of the bride and her family and of the groom are told and acknowledged by a thank-you address by the groom. Parents of the couple sit close to them but have no other function than to accept congratulations. The bride then goes around introducing herself to the guests.

Children are not present at this event. They line up outside the house and peek through openings to see the bride and watch the guests, who start dances as soon as good food and wine take effect. After the formal part of the wedding, the feast ends like any such event in the village—with great gaiety. The bride acts as hostess; she changes from her kimono and heavy hair dress into more suitable clothes and sees that the guests are well taken care of. The length of this feast depends, of course, on how much food and drink the family is able to provide. Finally, when all guests have left, the bride and groom retire to the bedroom which has been reserved for them, sometimes furnished with one or two pieces, a chest of drawers or a Western-style closet supplied by the bride's family. The bride also provides the comforter for the marriage bed. Friends of the groom may play a prank and replace the normal-sized comforter with a small one, "so that the marriage is consumated quicker," as they say.

Sexual relations between husband and wife are not discussed in public except in jocular references. In spite of the intimacy of household members in the confinement of a small house, one attempts to

105 A munchu was made up of a number
197 of households or families united through the male line, descended from a common
[619] ancestor, and sharing a common tomb. Village endogamy was an obligatory mar-
• [582] riage practice and violations did not pass unpunished; in addition kin group
endogamy was a preferred practice, though not necessarily an obligatory one.
[628] Intervillage contacts and ties, consequently, were held to a minimum. These cus-
[178] toms were followed by the majority of the oldest generation now living, and
even today such practices tend to persist in rural areas. A survey in Kanegu-
[582] suku revealed that fifty percent of the marriages were between members of the
same kin group and sixty-six percent of the marriages were between residents of
[178] the same village. Such practices, to be sure, are breaking down, and this be-
comes evident when the above data are analyzed on an age basis, but in view of
the fact that these customs still prevail, though to a more limited extent than
formerly, it is not surprising that so considerable a diversity of dialects
should also be preserved.

197 Another facet of Okinawan dialect geography is the occurrence of small
621 speech-islands exhibiting dialects distinct from those of the surrounding areas.
184 These are the so called yaadui settlements founded during the 18th and 19th cen-
turies by migrants from the Naha-Shuri area; the newcomers were usually the
younger sons of gentry families seeking their livelihood in the country. Such
settlements not only enjoyed a political independence from the larger surround-
ing communities but also were never incorporated into the formal religious
system centering on the nuru priestess and unifying the rural areas. These
factors together with previously-mentioned marriage practices enabled such set-
tlements to preserve their identity. Kitazato in Kami Motobu-son serves as a
good example of this type of village, having been settled seven generations
ago by the younger sons of gentry families residing in Naha and Shuri. The
larger neighboring villages never absorbed Kitazato, and to this day it pre-
[194] serves a dialect quite distinct from theirs. The most notable contrast be-
tween them centers on the p and h sounds in the two dialects, for all p sounds
of nearby Gushiken are rendered h in Kitazato; thus, the word for "fire" is pi
in the dialect of the former and hi in the latter's.

197 Undoubtedly this dialectic diversity is decreasing as the old customs
178 die out and the isolation of the village disappears. The war uprooted many
communities and scattered their inhabitants about the island, and nearly all
villages now have a number of families new to the village since the war. New
communities like the entertainment center of Koza have no characteristic dia-
lect of their own, containing as they do a heterogeneous population recruited
from all parts of the Ryukyus. The vast improvements in roads and transporta-
tion services since the end of the war have given the people a mobility un-
dreamed of in the prewar period and have done much to destroy the isolation of
the rural areas.

192 "Uchinaaguchi" Okinawans call their dialect uchinaaguchi and themselves
[01] uchinaanchu. The terms 'Okinawago', Japanese for Okinawan
language, and 'hōgen', Japanese for dialect, are also in common usage though
the latter term is resented by some who feel that it carries the connotation
"rustic". Today all Okinawan speech contains many loan words from Japanese;
this obtains for those who know no Japanese as well as for those who are bi-
lingual. Intimate contact with Japanese coupled with this word borrowing has

It will be seen that for males membership in the common descent group is reckoned strictly patrilineally and this membership is permanent. The status of women is less clear. A woman before marriage worships at the ancestral tablets and tomb of her father's family and lineage. If she dies she is buried in his tomb. After her marriage a woman worships at her husband's tomb, where she will be buried, and if he is an eldest son she knows she will ultimately have the responsibility of preparing the offerings put before his family's tablets; but at the same time she continues to worship at the u-machii before the tablets at the main house of her father's group. She may be called upon to contribute to the fund raised by her father's group for ceremonial expenses. And she may even function as a kaminchu for it. A woman's own tablet, when she dies, will be placed with that of her husband. If a woman is widowed or divorced and marries again, she will very likely be buried in the tomb of the family of her first son, regardless of which husband was his father, and her tablet will be put in his house. A woman without sons may feel uncertain of her future. 614 562

It must also be made explicit that the Okinawan common descent group, unlike most unilateral descent groups, is not exogamous. Even cousins related through the male line may marry and it is said that in some communities they do so frequently. I found one cousin marriage within the kin group in Yamada koseki; Lebra found several marriages within the munchu at Kanegusuku. Informants said it was common in some communities. 614 582

2. The Life Cycle

The Calendar Before a description of the life cycle of the individual can be given, a word must be said about the systems the Okinawans use for reckoning time. Two systems are in use, the "old calendar" (in Japanese 'kyūreki') and the "new calendar" ('shinreki'). The first is the same ancient Chinese calendar that is used throughout East Asia; the second is the Western calendar. 805 197

The "old calendar" is essentially a lunar calendar but combined with the twelve lunar months is a system of twenty-four solar periods and a system of naming days and years by the "Ten Stems and Twelve Branches".[1] The lunar year consists of twelve lunar months, designated as "first month", "second month" and so on, of twenty-nine or thirty days, with the fifteenth or sixteenth of each month falling on the night of the full moon. Since the lunar year is about eleven days shorter than the solar year, an inter-calary month must be inserted every three years to hold the year in place, so that Lunar New Year's usually comes some time in February of the Western Calendar. The principal traditional holidays of the year, except for three, are figured in the lunar calendar. Of particular importance are New Year's (the first day of the first month) and U-bung or Shichigwachi (from the 13th to the 15th of the 7th month; the Japanese 'Bon'). [527]

[1] For tables, etc., see Papinot, 1910, Appendix XII.

that a woman can hold office today since the government has made this law, but that they would never permit this to happen. In village elections only household heads are permitted to vote, and in practice only they are eligible for the village offices. If a woman is a household head (and there are eighteen in this category in Kanegusuku) she is allowed to vote, but she would never be considered for any village office. Most women would not want the job if it were available to them, for this is considered a part of the affairs of men and inconsistent with the traditional concept of woman's role of wife and mother. Women are vaguely aware that their legal and political status has altered under the American military administration, and nearly all have heard stories about America where women are said to be very influential, but they are not so sure that what is good for Americans will necessarily work for them.

An exception to the generally inactive role of women in political affairs is found in Okinawan fishing communities. In Itoman and Henza, which derive their living from fishing, shipping, and ferrying, the men are away much of the time, and the women exercise considerably more control over family and financial matters than elsewhere on Okinawa. Itoman women are noted throughout the island for their independence and shrewdness in financial matters, and there is a common saying that an Itoman woman doesn't need a man if she has a house. On Henza Island the lower echelons of the village political hierarchy are completely dominated by women. The five 'hanchō' are women, each heading a political unit of about eight hundred persons, and the forty-one 'kumichō' are also women. Despite this one gets the impression that women are participating in Henza political life in the absence of the men just as they have a larger role in the management of family affairs than the women of farming villages because the absence of their men has made this a practical necessity. To date no woman has been elected to the position of 'kuchō' nor does it seem likely that one will be in the near future. Perhaps this also serves to define more clearly the real nature of the 'hanchō' and 'kumichō' as messengers for the 'kuchō' instead of as administrators, and that positions of real power are still retained by men.

5. The Political Community

The rural village constitutes a political, territorial, and social unit; its membership is bound together by a common cultural heredity and shares a common experience. All the villagers have attended the same schools, cooperated in village projects, participated in community ceremonies and celebrations, and joined the same organizations. The prevailing marriage practice still tends toward endogamy, and in many places they speak a dialect with features distinct from that of their neighbors. National organizations serve to unite the youth, women, and farmers into their respective local groups for common action and benefit. Further integration is assured by practices of reciprocal labor exchange among the households.

The major social institutions of rural Okinawa are the family-kin group and the community. Within the former there exists a strict hierarchy

[Koohinda-son]

first son" is graphically depicted by the third column in Table III. If the 6.5% of the households that contain no women are eliminated, the "average females per household" index rises to 3.25 in this category.

Second Sons There are two possible reasons for the high sex ratio in households headed by second sons. The sons of second sons may tend to marry later than do sons of first sons, because the land they may inherit is generally smaller in area, and they want time to hunt work in the cities. The daughters of second sons marry earlier for the reason that their fathers have less land to contribute to their support past adolescence.

The high sex ratio is still rather hard to understand, however. If we eliminate the twelve cases where the male household head is the only person in that household, the sex ratio becomes 109.0. If we eliminate all households without women, the sex ratio drops to 107.0. This means that there are considerable households where two or more males constitute the only inhabitants. This was true in eleven cases. Even more frequent are the cases where two males and one female constitute the household.

If the same operation, elimination of all-male households, is carried out on the data for households headed by first sons, the sex ratio drops to 93.0. Hence we see that however the figures are interpreted, first sons do have a greater burden and more women to care for.

Grandsons Grandsons of former household heads were household heads in 37 cases. In four of these cases the grandfather was still living but considered himself too old (68, 71, 76, and 89 years) to manage the family's affairs. In sixteen cases the mother of the household head was living. In one case both mother and grandmother were living, and in another both paternal grandparents were living. In only one case was the father of a household head living---and he was adopted husband, or 'yōshi', in another household. In all cases the inheritance has passed directly from the grandfather to grandson.

Other Sons Sons of fourth order and above, adopted sons ('yōshi'), and those whose birth order was not recorded, constitute the heads of 154 households. Fourteen of these are 'yōshi', whose birth orders in their family of orientation were:

First Sons	2
Second Sons	8
Third Sons	2
Fourth Sons	1
Unrecorded	1
Total 'yōshi'	14

[Kochinda-son]

Table IX, cont'd.

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	Prewar	Postwar
Average Time in Months Between First and Second Births	38.8	27.3
Average Time in Months Between Second and Third Births	35.7	27.7
Total Average Months Between All Births	35.7	27.6

It is seen that the postwar Okinawan mother apparently has her first child more than half a year earlier than did the prewar mother. Furthermore, the average spacing between births appears to be about eight to eleven months less in the postwar period. Explanations for this apparent difference---which might prove to be less if a larger sample were available---include delays caused by prewar military service, and the possibility that stillbirths were more frequent and infant mortality higher in the prewar period.

The invasion and the subsequent period of internment and resettlement caused a temporary lengthening in the spacing of births. Data for the 98 households in the same villages used above, wherein were found complete prewar-postwar continuous birth records, indicated an average of 55 months between the birth of the last baby before the invasion, and the first one born thereafter. In addition, it should be noted that the average age of postwar fathers at first birth above is 27.1 years, but the average age of fathers whose date of postwar marriage is recorded at first birth below is 25.0 years. This situation means only that in many cases the mothers of postwar families were second wives. In most of these instances the first wife had died during the war.

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171

Postwar Marriage: Attitudes Dr. John F. Embree, in his monumental work Suye Mura, thus describes the rural Japanese attitude toward marriage: "The birth of a child is a much more certain sign of a permanent marriage than is a wedding ceremony. Indeed, a marriage is often not put in the village office records until after a child is on its way."[1] The Okinawan attitude is much the same.

582

In analyzing the 177 postwar recorded marriages that resulted in children, 29 marriages, or only 16% of the total, were found to have been recorded in the 'koseki' more than nine months before the birth of the first child. Marriages were recorded after the birth of the first child in 71 cases, representing 40% of the total.

Marriages Recorded Before Conception In the first category, the husband was younger in six of the 29 cases. In no case had the husband had

1 John F. Embree, Suye Mura: A Japanese Village, U. of Chicago Press, 1939, p. 182.

[Koohinda-son]

582 a divorce previously. In two cases the first wife had died, and the husband remarried. In twenty instances the first birth was a boy, and in nine cases a girl. The period between the marraige recording and the first birth ranged from a mere 282 days to four years seven months.

Marriages to girls within the village accounted for 17, or 59%, of the cases reported. Marriages to girls coming from outside the village accounted for 12 cases, or 51% of those reported. The composition[1] of the families in which the marriages occurred is shown below:

Table X

Type Family	Number of Marriages	Percentage
Lineal	16	55
Lateral	2	7
Mixed	5	17
Nuclear	6	21
Total	29	100

Marriages Recorded After Conception In this category, younger husbands numbered 14, while older husbands number 63. In three cases the husband had had a divorce and his remarriage was the one recorded. In another case the first wife had died and the man remarried. The first birth was a boy in 31 cases, and a girl in 46 cases. Marriages to girls from the same village constituted 46, or 60%, of the cases. Wives who came from other villages numbered 31, or 40% of the cases.

[128]

[1] The type families are based with modifications upon the definitions in George P. Murdock, Social Structure: "the nuclear family consists typically of a married man and woman with their offspring...the type of family recognized to the exclusion of all others by our own society." (p. 1.) "An extended family consists of two or more nuclear families affiliated through an extension of the parent-child relationship rather than of the husband-wife relationship, i.e., by joining the nuclear family of a married adult to that of his parents. The patrilocal extended family, often called the patriarchal family, furnishes an excellent example. It embraces, typically, an older man, his wife or wives, his unmarried children, his married sons, and the wives and children of the latter. Three generations, including the nuclear families of father and sons, live under a single roof or in a cluster of adjacent dwellings." This is the type of family here called the mixed family; the terminology was retained even in event of the war death of either parent in the older generation. The term lineal as used here means a lineally extended family consisting of one or both grandparents, a married son and daughter-in-law (or daughter and 'yōshi') with the latter's offspring. The term lateral as used in this report refers to a laterally extended family composed of two brothers and their respective wives, and the offspring of at least one of the couples.

[Koohinda-son]

The days between report of the marriage and the first birth ranged from one day prior to 275 days prior. The range is tabulated below: 582

Table XI

Days Prior	Cases
1- 7	8
8- 20	9
21- 30	8
31- 60	13
61- 90	8
91-120	8
121-150	10
151-180	3
181-210	4
211-240	3
241-275	3
Total	77

The composition of the families in which the marriages occurred is shown in Table XII:

Table XII

Type Family	Number of Marraiges	Percentage
Lineal	32	42
Lateral	6	8
Mixed	18	23
Nuclear	21	27
Total	77	100

Marriages Reported after First Birth Marriages reported on or after the birth of the first baby saw a greater proportion of younger husbands. Fifteen of the 71 were younger than their wives. In four cases the husband had had a divorce and remarried. In another case the first wife had died, and the husband remarried. The first birth was a boy in 45 cases, and a girl in 24 of the remaining 26 cases. In two instances the information as to sex of the child was faulty. This imbalance leads one to believe that in many cases when a girl child is born, the father refuses to acknowledge paternity by registering the marriage. The child must then be registered as an illegitimate or common law child. [851]

Marriages to girls within the village accounted for 28, or 40%, of the cases; while marriages to women who came from outside the village accounted for 43, or 60%, of the cases. This shift in relative percentages from the second category to the third suggests that marriages to women within one's own village have a slight tendency to be reported earlier, or before the first baby is born. On the other hand, unions with girls from outside one's own village tend to be reported later, or after the first baby arrives.

[Koohinda-son]

582 When the three categories are broken down by birth order of the father, interesting patterns become apparent. For those who report marriage before conception, there is a decline in the percentage reporting as the birth order of the father becomes greater. This seems to be related to the amount of family land held, and therefore is a concomitant of status in the community. That half of the fathers who are second sons report marriage after conception but before birth is connected with the tendency to report the setting up of a separate household, or 'bunke', to the village office the same day the marriage is reported. Table XIII treats with the percentages concerned.

Table XIII

Birth Order of Husband	Marriages Recorded Before Conception		Marriages Recorded After Conception		Marriages Recorded After Birth	
First Son	14	17%	33	40%	36	43%
Second Son	6	13%	23	50%	17	37%
Third Son	2	8%	10	42%	12	50%
Fourth Son	4		5		2	
Fifth Son	1		2		2	
Sixth Son	1		2		-	
Birth Order Unknown	1		2		2	
	29		77		71	

The birth order of the husband seems to have very little effect upon the aforementioned tendency to report out-village marriages after the first baby arrives. The following table gives the numbers concerned according to birth order of the husband:

Table XIV

	Birth Order of Husband	Out-Village Marriages	In-Village Marriages
Marriages Recorded After Birth	First Son	21	15
	Second Son	10	7
	Third Son	7	5
Marriages Recorded After Conception	First Son	17	16
	Second Son	6	17
	Third Son	3	7

In this category the delay in reporting the marriage after the birth of the first child ranged from one day to 672 days. One marraige was reported on the date of the first child's birth. The first two months after birth saw 68 of the marriages reported. The details of the range are shown in Table XV.

[Kochinda-son]

Table XV

582

Days of Delay in Reporting	Cases
0	1
1- 7	8
8- 14	12
15- 30	17
31- 60	11
61- 90	7
91-120	2
121-150	5
151-180	
181-210	2
211-240	
241-270	1
271-300	
301-365	1
365-372	4
Total	71

The composition of the families in which the marriages occurred is shown below:

Table XVI

Type Family	Number of Marriages	Percentage
Lineal	27	38
Lateral	9	13
Mixed	21	29
Nuclear	14	20
Total	71	100

In-Village and Out-Village Marriage Except in the case of the marriage of an adopted husband, or 'yōshi', to a girl who has no brothers, the bride always goes to her husband's house to live. Getting a wife from outside one's own village is somewhat more popular than marrying a girl one has known for many years. In tabulating the total recorded postwar marriages,[1] which numbered 264, it was found that 114 (43%) were in-village unions, while 150 (57%) were out-village unions. [59]

It is interesting that where the ages of both marriage partners were known, husbands were older than their wives in 80% of the cases, and younger in 20%. This was true for both in-village marriage and out-village marriage, though it runs contrary to respondents' statements that men who married out of their own villages tended to get wives older than themselves.

[1] The data are somewhat different from the above because all postwar marriages were tabulated, regardless of whether they had yet resulted in offspring.

[Kochinda-son]

• 582 For the 114 in-village marriages the average age of the wife at date marriage was recorded was 21.2 years. For the husbands in this category the average was 23.5 years. Both these averages are consistently lower than the averages for out-village marriages---it apparently takes longer to search farther afield. In addition, one often hears the country belief that the more education a man has, the farther away he goes for a wife.

The 150 out-village marriages recorded include 117 women living in Kochinda-son, and 33 women who have married to men outside the 'son'. Of these 33 women, those who married men from relatively far away numbered nineteen, and those who married men living in villages relatively close to their parents' village were fourteen in number. One of the first group married an American serviceman from Kansas. One of the outside-the-'son'-marriages involved a woman fifty years of age who was marrying for the second time. For the remaining 32 marriages---all of which were first marriages---the average age of the woman involved was 22.5 years.

Of the 117 out-village women who married within Kochinda-son, twenty-seven came from rather far away, forty from non-contiguous 'aza' relatively close, and fifty from neighboring, or areally contiguous, 'aza'. The average age of the 117 husbands was 25.0 years. This figure is reduced to 24.9 years if the men over 40 are eliminated. The average age of the wives[1] was 22.1 years, an average reduceable to 21.9 years if women over forty are eliminated.

587 Second Marriages In the normal course of events a certain number of people will marry for the second time. The Navy Civil Affairs Handbook indicates that "...about twice as many men as women remarry after being widowed or legally separated." A considerable number of the postwar marriages analyzed under the spacing of births category above were second marriages. It is of course not possible to ascertain the percentage of these, inasmuch as they are not listed as such in the temporary 'koseki'.

[614] Lebra was told that in a first marriage men tended to wed women from within the munchu (extended patrilineage) rather than from outside the munchu, and that in a second marriage they tended to marry outside the munchu.

588 831 848 "Common Law Children": Definitions In addition to legally recorded marriages, there are those unions producing children who have no legal claim as heirs to their fathers' property. If the father recognizes the child as his own, it is given his family name, and entered into the 'koseki' as a 'shoshidan', if a boy, and a 'shoshijo', if a girl. In this report these will be called "common law children", though the reader must realize that 'shoshi' is not the exact equivalent of the phrase "common law" as it is used in the United States.

1 Only the ages of 116 wives could enter this calculation; no birthdate was available for one wife, though the other data for the marriage were complete.

CHAPTER VIII LAND TENURE

W. P. Lebra

423 178 During the lifetime of the oldest living generation of Okinawans there have been operative two radically differing systems of land tenure---at first a system of communal land ownership and later a system of private ownership of land by families. At the present time a third system may be said to be emerging---private ownership by individuals. Changes in the systems of land tenure have been accompanied by significant changes in the family, economy, and community. During the wartime and post-war periods extensive land losses to military installations have severely disrupted the livelihood of a number of communities, thus furthering the process of change.

175 ## 1. The Okinawan Kingdom and the Land Allotment System ('jiwari seido')

[692] 175 565 [423] Prior to 1879 when Japan formally annexed the Ryukyus, Okinawa was a small semi-independent kingdom (it was a tribute-paying dependency of the daimiate of Satsuma in Japan) controlling the southern Ryukyus. The urban Naha-Shuri area served as the administrative and commercial center for the kingdom, and nearly all of the upper classes, gentry and nobility, were concentrated there. They formed a ruling class similar to that of China, functioning as a literati and administrative bureaucracy. Feudalism had been abolished in the fifteenth century, and aside from a small percentage of the nobility who were allowed to retain their hereditary fiefs, the bulk of the upper classes subsisted on pensions granted by the ruler. This group was very large and constituted approximately one-third of the total population.

175 [566] [361] [621] [613] [614] The farming population lived in a state of serfdom, being forbidden even to move from their native village or to change their hereditary occupation. Farm villages were self-sustaining and physically isolated entities consisting of tightly-nucleated clusters of dwellings surrounded by fields. Each village was segmented into several lineages whose houses were generally clustered together; these kin groups were related through the male line and shared a common ancestor, ritual observances, and often a local tomb for temporary burial. Each lineage was usually related to certain lineages of other villages, thus forming a larger relationship or patri-sib which shared a remote common ancestor, ritual observances, and a common tomb for permanent burial. Usually the membership of this larger kinship group was concentrated in the villages of a given district or area. Village endogamy [582] was an obligatory marriage practice, and kin group endogamy was a preferred though not an obligatory practice.

178 423 175 423 [632] Private ownership of land on Okinawa is a recent phenomenon, as recent, in fact, as the beginning of the twentieth century. Under the old kingdom communal ownership of the land obtained for all except a small segment of the upper classes. In theory all land was the property of the ruler, but in practice the district, or majiri (political unit roughly equivalent

4. A Comparison of Land Tenure in Two Rural Villages: Kanegusuku and Kitazato

621 Kanegusuku [34] The village of Kanegusuku is located in the southwestern corner of Kanegusuku-son approximately three miles due south of Naha on the west coast, and it is immediately north of the town of Itoman. As is typical of the old Okinawan villages it is situated on high ground with all of its houses facing in a southerly direction. Aside from a detached cluster of eleven houses, the village houses are close together in [72] a contiguous settlement. The village was selected for study because of its infrequent contact with Americans, relative lack of war damage, and a reputed antiquity and conservatism. As of December, 1953, the population was 507 persons forming 108 families occupying 103 houses. The present population is said to be about the same as before the war despite a 20% loss of life during the battle; this loss has been made up by repatriates from overseas and immigrants from other areas of Okinawa. The repatriates and some of the immigrants either had formerly resided in the village or regarded it as their ancestral home. There are nine families who were native to some other part of Okinawa before the war and have no previous connections with the village. The majority of the families have been in this village for [592] many generations. There are approximately five persons in each household, which usually consists of a nuclear family, husband and wife and their children; but the composition of a number of households has been changed due to wartime losses.

[613] Socially the village is segmented into eight lineages which constitute 92% of the total population; the remaining 8% is made up of unrelated families new to the village since the end of the war. One lineage includes nearly 61% of the village in its membership. Each of these lineages is related to lineages in other villages. Approximately 66% of the village [582] marriages have been within the village, and nearly 50% of the marriages have been between persons of the same kin group. Thus, the composition of the village is fairly homogeneous, and both the community and the kin groups are strong cohesive units.

621 463 241 Occupation 98 of the 103 houses are engaged full time in farming; the household heads of the five remaining houses are employed outside the village in non-agricultural pursuits although all participate in some part-time farming. In addition to these five there were approximately fifteen young men, not household heads, who also worked outside. Most of these commuted daily to the greater Naha area where they were engaged in military employment or construction work. For the majority of villagers farming was the sole occupation.

621 311 [434] [136] Arable Land Over 66% of the total area of this village is under cultivation, and about 38% of the cultivated land is in irrigated fields. The chief sources of income derive from rice and mats made from a sedge which is grown in an irrigated field. In terms of the average amount of arable land per household Kanegusuku is somewhat better off than the average for Okinawa: 1514.2 'tsubo' for Kanegusuku as compared with 1037.6 'tsubo' for Okinawa.

52 178 621 The general characteristics of the changed entertainment patterns have been a greater reliance on entertainment provided by sources outside the village---the school, radio, movies---and a sharp decline in celebrations and festivals of the sort which emphasized village participation and unity.

757 753 177 Health and Medicine Changes in medical practice well illustrate the principle that material things find more ready acceptance than ideas in the diffusion of culture; in short, Okinawans have been willing to adopt modern medicine when available, but not modern medical principles. Pills, shots, surgery, dentistry, penicillin, and DDT have found acceptance, while modern scientific concepts of disease, health, and sanitation seem to have made relatively little headway. The germ theory, for example, has barely penetrated.

753 751 177 However, on talking to people of different ages one becomes aware that many changes in standards of sanitation and ideas about health and disease actually have taken place in the last fifty years. For example, evidence of the practice of tattooing various parts of the body as a cure for certain ills is rarely seen on persons under seventy. Similarly, though many of the younger generation may appear abysmally ignorant of modern knowledge of disease, they are always less ignorant and better informed than the preceding generation. Considerable progress toward better sanitation was made under the [364] [231] Japanese. Formerly the Okinawan privy was built atop the pigpen, and the pig subsisted in part on human feces. Stern measures were required to force the abandonment of this practice. The Japanese also introduced monthly sanitation inspections; inoculations for babies and school children were made compulsory. [515] Through the influence of the schools the toothbrush (usually one) became a part of every home. The Japanese also sent notable scholars into the country- [582] side to lecture the people on the dangers of in-breeding practices, particularly kin-group endogamy.

757 177 Penicillin, which was introduced by the Americans, has become a popular treatment, achieving equality with moxacautery and cutting to let blood. It can be obtained easily at any drug shop, and every doctor, midwife, herbalist, and practitioner of any sort is prepared to administer shots. Reliance excessive even by American standards is placed on this drug. There seems, in fact, to be a fondness for shots which does not end with penicillin; hormone shots and various other injections are widely advertised. It is the opinion of the author that any type of modern medicine which cuts, punctures, or otherwise disfigures the skin will find ready acceptance; this, it is felt, is merely an extension of the tradition of acupuncture, moxacautery, tattooing, and cutting. Bettelheim states that in the 1850's the Okinawans made inquiries as to how inoculations for smallpox might be obtained.[1]

759 178 There is some indication that the yabu, a practitioner whose chief stocks-in-trade are herbs and moxacautery, is slowly disappearing; in several communities the author was told that since the old yabu died there had been no replacement.

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[1] Bettelheim, B. J., Loochoo Mission, London, n.d., pp. 34-36.

Within the village there are no class differences. Considerable prestige continues to be accorded certain occupations---teacher, doctor, government official. Land ownership does not appear to be an important status factor, and there is no landlord class. 621 554

Family The Okinawan family system has been in a process of change for over fifty years. Abolition of the system of communal land tenure and the introduction of private property and Japanese laws of inheritance provided the first shock. The bulk of the estate was hereafter conferred upon the first son while younger sons were frequently landless; consequently, many left the village in search of livelihood elsewhere. Where formerly the kin group was concentrated in a given locality, now its members are often scattered about, making interaction infrequent. A gradual decline in the practice of kin group endogamy also has contributed to weakening the solidarity of the kin group. There seems to be an increasing trend for large kin groups to fragment into smaller segments. According to young people who were consulted on the subject, their generation has little interest in kin group affairs; this may be misleading, as it is chiefly a matter which occupies the attention of older people. Perhaps one young man stated the situation accurately when he said, "I have no interest in such matters now, but I suppose I will when I am past forty." 593 178 [423] [428] 61 178

Many families were shattered by the war, and in the postwar period there has been a weakening of the family due to a variety of factors which might best be described as growing individualism. One factor, noted previously, was an increasing tendency for members of the household to maintain separate purses where formerly all earnings were turned over to the head of the house. There is some sentiment among the more educated for changing existing inheritance laws in favor of equal shares for all heirs regardless of sex or birth order. The author also heard complaints that young people often run off to seek lucrative jobs elsewhere unmindful of their family obligations. 593 178

Marriage In contrast to the prewar period when most marriages were arranged, the young people today claim that they will marry someone of their own choice. This seems to be generally true, but often the parents will go through the process of arranging after the young people have decided. Young people also will vehemently deny that they will make use of a fortune teller to determine the most propitious day, but their mothers most likely will do this and then will exert their influence for the proper day. In all likelihood the young people will accept in order not to displease the parents. 584 178 [585]

If a person, particularly a young woman, delays too long in becoming married, the family will arrange a match. In one such case known to the author a well-educated woman of twenty-five who had financial independence as a school teacher was urged into a match much against her own feelings. She explained her compliance as obligation to her family for having provided her with an excellent education.

Pitts' population studies indicate that the average age of marriage has dropped slightly in the postwar period due to the fact that Okinawan men are no longer delayed by military service. Despite this slight drop in the 582 178

582 178 average age at the time of marriage, investigation into the registries reveals that the range has narrowed somewhat. Formerly some girls married at thirteen and fourteen; today this would be considered rather unusual.

[177] The Japanese administration attempted to discourage endogamous marriage practices, particularly kin-group endogamy. All agreed that the practice has declined; yet in Kanegusuku nearly 50% of all marriages were within the kin group and 66% of all marriages were within the village. An analysis of these figures on an age basis indicates the practice is declining there.

833 178 833 Sex It is said that sexual standards have changed in that there is less sexual license among the young people and that they tend to have their first relations at a later age than formerly. This is attributed in part to the moral training of the schools. Another factor seems to be the general decline of several informal village institutions which permitted young people considerable sexual freedom. One informant stated that those who continue on to high school and university generally have their first experience at a later age than those who attend only junior high school.

642 177 641 Government The Japanese introduced a modern system of government, abolished the Okinawan aristocracy, and granted suffrage to all males of twenty-five or more years. The American Civil Administration has attempted to liberalize laws and to make possible a greater degree of self-government. [625] [665] Police powers have been limited, universal suffrage has been introduced, and the number of elected officials has been increased.

621 178 To date there has been little change within the village, where suffrage and office-holding remain limited to household heads. Villagers acknowledge that there is greater freedom for action at the local level today; yet they are not desirous of obtaining greater self-government. They feel that it would require too much of their time and that there is too little money available to finance its operation. Village leadership is virtually unchanged. Change where it has occurred has been initiated at a higher level.

632 178 At the township level the electorate has been broadened to include all persons, male and female, over twenty years of age. The mayor who was formerly appointed is now elected to office.

771 177 178 793 Religion There has been a general decline in the indigenous Okinawan religion, effected by Japanese policy, wartime attrition, and the spread of education. Formerly a hierarchy of priestesses extended from the kin group through the community and region to the person of the king's sister, the chief priestess. The Japanese removed the top echelons of this hierarchy, but the kin group and community priestesses continued to function. World War II resulted in the death of many religious functionaries, and as the office is usually hereditary within a specific family and often limited to a particular member of that family, there has often been no replacement for the office. Lastly there is an increasing tendency among the young people, due to the influence of the school, to regard religion as superstition.

796 178 Many villages, especially those without religious functionaries, have discontinued all village ceremonies, and in those few remarkable exceptions

[Yamada]

621 the village. The oldest of the children is in school; she is the product of
144 a brief affair during the early days of the occupation. While some informants
563 showed some reluctance to discuss the half-white children, by forgetting that they existed until reminded of them, I saw no evidence that the children suffered any discrimination. There are also several Yamada women living outside Yamada, particularly in Ishikawa, with Americans and Filipinos; several of
621 these have mixed-blood children. Some of the Yamada women who are "married"
• 582 to Americans have attempted to maintain their relationship with their own
177 families and establish some kind of relationship between their families and their "husbands". On New Year's, when family calls are in order, two sisters who were both living with Americans at another village brought their "husbands" to pay their respects to their grandfather. I was in the old man's house when one of the girls appeared with her American. The American behaved quite properly, taking off his shoes and sitting cross-legged on the mat opposite the grandfather. The grandfather greeted him with dignity and reserve. The girl, who had acquired a fair command of English, translated a few sentences and looked very pleased with herself. Drinks were exchanged and the visit was over. Further contact was hardly possible, but this sort of gesture was probably sufficient to demonstrate to the family and to others that the relationship was a serious one. Most relationships are less serious.

621 The former cafe in Kuraha was said to have had women available for
727 prostitution several years ago, but the CO of the local unit who held the
177 meetings with the villagers is said to have disapproved of prostitution in the village and therefore the women left. In the spring of 1954, however,
548 another prostitute was at the cafe, even though it was not operating as such, and a new brothel was established at Ajimaa. There a 'Mama-san' ("madame" in GI Japanese) rented a house for herself and her three girls. The house is one of the newer tile-roofed buildings; it is just below the school grounds and across the highway; it is the property of the brother-in-law of one of the school teachers. Since the shortest way to the place from the unit is directly across the school ground, this was the route taken one afternoon by the three gaudily painted girls as they led a soldier home. I did not have much opportunity to discuss the matter with many people but got the following reaction from one informant: "On the one hand the brothel is good because people are making money; on the other hand it is bad because it makes a bad environment. If anyone complained about it, probably the owners of the house would say that the person complaining is just envious because of the money they are making in rent. Probably even the school teachers could not complain. One cannot interfere with a person's way of making money. The only way it could be stopped would be for the whole village to stop it." This was a clear
[181] expression of two of the basic themes of Okinawan culture, themes that have been mentioned before in connection with other problems; first, one must not interfere in another's livelihood, and second, one must not stand alone; action must be group action. This informant was not overly concerned about the possible bad effects of the presence of the brothel below the school on the school children. Some of the school teachers may have been, yet they too were probably as unwilling to take action individually.

621 While some Yamada people have profited by the presence of the unit,
727 others have suffered some loss. Considerable land is still not available to its owners and while they have received rental from it the amount is not

464 usually people tend to regard these persons as fortunate. During the entire
562 course of the author's stay on Okinawa he heard no sharp criticism of men who
829 were in military employment, yet many statements were heard about women who were so employed. This dichotomy seems to stem from the widely held belief that the American employers have sexual access to these women, particularly
[831] the maids. Okinawan culture affords its males a high degree of sexual freedom, but not its females.

464 It is said that the women who are employed by the military are cate-
554 gorized into several grades; the highest status is accorded to the office workers and PX clerks. These are followed by the kitchen and table maids, after which comes the maids who are employed in the dependent housing units; lastly there are the barracks maids, including those of the bachelor officers' and civilians' quarters. It is also claimed that these women can be distinguished on the basis of their dress. Supposedly the office workers and
[291] PX girls dress in the fashion of Japanese business women, whereas the housing
[117] and barracks maids dress in American styles which are considered loud and flashy.

464 It is claimed that many young men will not marry women who have been
554 maids in military installations. One young man asserted that these women were
582 no better than the "honeys" (a term used by Okinawans and GI's to designate the soldier's mistress).

464 The low status and pay (¥1200-1800, or $10-15 per month) for maids is
466 offset to a large extent by the gifts, food, and in many cases board which they receive from their employers. Despite the stigma there is no shortage
[465] of applicants for these jobs. Another factor is the free bathing privileges
[515] which ordinarily accompany these jobs. Very few Okinawan homes have a bath, and public baths cost the equivalent of ten cents in American money, a sizeable outlay for the Okinawan purse.

464 Most of the discrimination is directly attributable to the sexual
554 jealousy of the Okinawan male toward the women who work and often live in
829 close daily contact with Americans. There also seems to be some discrimination against any women in the category of maid, whether employed by American or Okinawan; in the past these were often indentured servants who had been sold by their parents into this low status.

186 Okinawan Attitudes toward Their American Employers It was the author's im-
829 pression that even those who had worked in close daily contact with Americans for a considerable period of time shared much the same stereotypes of the American as those held by the general public. It must be remembered that the points of emphasis in any stereotype are often those traits which seem obvious because they are so unfamiliar and hence not understood by the person of a different culture. Secondly, in every stereotype there is undoubtedly some considerable measure of truth; the important factor is the base of reference. Both Americans and Okinawans judge one another on the basis of different values and cultural backgrounds.